

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 04171 300827Z
ACTION NODS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 4171

NODIS

FOR DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV, RH, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA IN THE WAKE OF THE OWEN-VANCE MEETING

REF: A) STATE 246671, B) STATE 247664

1. THE RESULTS OF THE OWEN-VANCE MEETING LOOK PRETTY GOOD FROM HERE. INsofar AS THE REREVISED A-AP DOCUMENTS CONFORM TO THEM, I EXPECT THE NEW APPROACH WILL BE SUBSTANTIVELY TENABLE HERE. IN ADDITION, THE SCENARIO HAS TWO FEATURES WHICH SHOULD BE ATTRACTIVE TO NYERERE: (A) THE ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE NOTWITHSTANDING THE REFUSAL OF ONE OR MORE PARTIES TO ATTEND, AND (B) FAILING AGREEMENT TO OUR PROPOSAL BY THE PARTIES, WE WOULD TAKE THEM TO THE UN AND SEEK SECURITY COUNCIL ENDORSEMENT OF THEM.

2. THE CENTRAL PROBLEM WITH THE SCENARIO, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS THAT IT DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR GETTING A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF AGREEMENT FROM SMITH AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE APM. WHATEVER KAUNDA MAY HAVE AGREED TO WITH CALLAGHAN AND OBASANJO, AND HOWEVER FLEXIBLE AND AGREEABLE KHAMA MAY BE, THE FACT IS THAT THIS PREREQUISITE WAS CLEARLY AND FORMALLY CONVEYED TO THE UK AND THE US BY NYERERE ON BEHALF OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS

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(DAR 3769, PARA 2). I WOULD GUESS THAT NYERERE CAN STILL COUNT AT LEAST ON MACHEL'S, NETO'S, AND MUGABE'S SUPPORT FOR THIS POSITION.

3. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT BY SOME FAST FOOT WORK (DAR ES SALAAM 4091, PARA 3), WE CAN IN OUR PRESENTATION OF THE REVISED A-AP TO NYERERE AND LIKE THINKING COLLEAGUES FINESSE THIS MATTER.

HOWEVER, THERE IS A VERY GOOD CHANCE THAT AS THE PRE-SET DATE FOR THE APM APPROACHES, WE WILL FIND OURSELVES FACED WITH DEMANDS TO KNOW WHAT SMITH HAS AGREED TO. (AL IF THE ANSWER IS "NOTHING" AND IF SMITH IS NOT COMING TO THE CONFERENCE, THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM. (B) IF THE ANSWER IS "NOTHING" BUT SMITH IS COMING TO THE CONFERENCE AND WE'LL FIND OUT THERE, THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE NYERERE WILL THROW HIS WEIGHT AGAINST THE APM. (C) IF THE ANSWER IS "A A LITTLE SOMETHING" AND WE HOPE TO GET MORE FROM SMITH AT THE APM, WE MAY FIND OURSELVES BEING TOLD GO GO BACK AND WORK HIM OVER ONCE MORE BEFORE NYERERE AND HIS HARDER-NOSED FL COLLEAGUES WILL COOPERATE.

4. THE PROSPECT OF GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHOUT AGREEMENT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE SOME APPEAL TO NYERERE. YOUR POSSIBLE INTERMEDIATE STEP OF A PRE-SECURITY COUNCIL LAST EFFORT TO GET FRONT LINE AND SAG SUPPORT ALSO HAS POTENTIAL. HOWEVER, AT THAT STAGE, IF WE ARE GOING TO GET ANYTHING IN THE WAY OF COOPERATION FROM THE AFRICANS, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE EXPLICIT ON WHAT WE WILL DO TO FORCE SMITH TO ACCEPT THE INTERNATIONAL JUDGMENT WE WILL BE SEEKING. (WE COULD, OF COURSE, ASK THEM IN TURN WHAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO DO, IF NECESSARY, TO BRING THE PF ABOARD.) THE QUESTION "WHAT ARE THE US AND THE UK PREPARED TO DO TO FORCE SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE?" WAS A RED HOT ONE AT AN EARLIER STAGE OF OUR EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH COOPERATION WITH THE AFRICANS ON RHODESIA. IT WILL BE AGAIN, AND IT WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO SAY MERELY THAT WE AND THE UK WILL BE LEFT IN A SECRET

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GOOD POSITION TO RESUME OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORTS IN THE EVENT THE PARTIES CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDES.

5. POSTSCRIPT: I FIND EXCHANGES OF THIS KIND ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL. REALIZING (A) THE NEED TO MAINTAIN A HIGH DEGREE OF SENSITIVITY, AND (B) THAT ONLY YOU BACK THERE CAN PATCH ALL THE PIECES INTO A WHOLE, IT WOULD NONETHELESS BE AN EVEN MORE STIMULATING EXPERIENCE IF ALL OF US (AMBASSADORS CONCERNED) COULD KNOW ALL OF EACH OTHERS' THOUGHTS. COULD YOU REPEAT APPROPRIATE NODIS RESPONSES FROM OTHER EMBASSIES FROM THERE? BETTER YET, CAN WE GO INTO AN EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS FRAMEWORK, SO WE CAN INFO EACH OTHER FROM THE FIELD?
SPAIN

SECRET

NNN

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